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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2743

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 3788

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE, EEC

SUBJECT: EC PAPER ON PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

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REF: A. USNATO 3685

B. USNATO 3492

1. FOLLOWING, PER REF A(NOTAL), IS MISSIONS, INFORMAL TRANS-

LATION FROM FRENCH ORIGINAL OF PAPER APPROVED BY EC POLLITICAL DIRECTORS CONTAINING GUIDANCE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS TREATMENT OF CSCE.

2. IN SHARING PAPER WITH NATO ALLIES, ITALIANS, SPEAKING FOR EC, ASKED THAT PAPER BE HANDLED UNDER SAME CAVEATS SET FORTH IN PARAS 2 AND 3, REF B. WHILE PAPER WAS, OF COURSE, NOT CRAFTED FOR USE BY US ON NATO SPOKESME, IT MIGHT PROVIDE ADDITIONAL USEFUL BACKGROUND ON WHICH THOSE DEALING WITH MEDIA MIGHT DRAW IN DISCUSSING CSCE.

3. FOR USDEL MBFR: IN ADDITION TO FOLLOWING TEXT, MISSION IS REPEATING FOR YOU USNATO 3492 WHICH TRANSMITTED CSCE PUBLIC OPINION GUIDANCE DRAFTED BY NATO SPC.

BEGIN TEXT:

GUIDE LINES FOR PRESENTING THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE TO
PUBLIC OPINION

THIS DOCUMENT WAS PREPARED IN ORDER TO REACH A COMMON EVALUATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE, AND FOR THE PRESENTATION OF ITS RESULTS. THIS WAS DONE IN ORDER TO COUNTERACT ANY DEFORMATION IN INTERPRETATION ON THE PART OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH FOR THEIR PART WILL NOT FAIL, TO EXPLOIT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THOSE RESULTS WHICH CAN BE TURNED TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE.

ELEMENTS FOR A GENERAL EVALUATION

1. THE CSCE REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT MEETING OF THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND OF NORTH AMERICA FOR A THOROUGH EXAMINATION AS POSSIBLE OF THE GENERAL SITUATION IN EUROPE AND ESPECIALLY OF THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

2. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT THE CONFERENCE BROUGHT TOGETHER, FOR THE FIRST TIME, 35 COUNTRIES WHICH SHARED CERTAIN HISTORICAL VALUES AS WELL AS A CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE NEED FOR INCREASED SECURITY AND COOPERATION BUT WHOSE SIZE, INTERESTS, POLITICAL TIES ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL AND POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS
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ARE VERY DIFFERENT. THIS EXPLAINS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WHY THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE LENGTHY AND DIFFICULT.

3. IN ADDITION, ALL THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE WERE REACHED BY CONSENSUS. THIS ALSO EXPLAINS WHY AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ONLY ON

BASIS OF A COMMON DENOMINATOR, REDUCED NECESSARILY IN A CERTAIN NUMBER OF CASES TO A MINIMUM LEVEL. THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, IN PARTICULAR, FOUND IN THE CSCE A FORUM WHICH PERMITTED THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING,

TO ASSERT THEIR LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS AND TO BECOME CONSCIOUS OF THE ACTIVE ROLE THEY COULD PLAY IN EUROPE. EXCEPT IN THE CASE

OF ROMANIA, IT IS MORE DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE THE ROLE WHICH THE MINOR WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES COULD HAVE PLAYED; APPARENTLY, DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, THEIR POSITIONS DID NOT DEVIATE FROM THOSE OF THE USSR. HOWEVER, ONE HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT THESE COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THE POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES OF SOME OF THE CONFERENCE'S RESULTS.

4. THE WEST HAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED IT PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT CONTENT ITSELF ONLY WITH THE WORDING OF GENERAL CONCEPTS, BUT SHOULD STUDY CONCRETE PROBLEMS; CONSEQUENTLY, THE WEST CONSIDERED IT TO BE ESSENTIAL THAT THE RESULTS SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BUT SHOULD INCLUDE A SERIES OF POLITICAL COMMITMENTS AIMED AT ACHIEVING CONCRETE MEASURES, ESPECIALLY FOR IMPROVING CONTACTS AND COOPERATION IN THE SECTORS OF HUMAN INTEREST AND IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, ON THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL AS WELL AS BETWEEN PERSONS.

AGAINST THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH HAD CONCEIVED THE CSCE UNDER A STATIC ANGLE AND WERE INTERESTED IN HAVING IT APPEAR CONSECRATION OF THE POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL "STATUS QUO", THE ESSENTIAL EVEN EXCLUSIVE ROLE OF NATIONAL STATES IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE- WE OPPOSE A DYNAMIC CONCEPTION DIRECTED TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS AND BOARD COOPERATION IN WHICH THE PLACE WHICH IS DUE TO INDIVIDUALS PERSONS MUST BE EMPHASIZED. AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS IN HELSINKI, THE NINE, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THAT OF THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES ON ESSENTIAL POINTS, PROPOSED TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE CONFERENCE'S WORK CORRESPONDING TO THIS

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CONCEPTION.

5. WE CAN NOW STATE THAT THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE RESULTS DOES CORRESPOND TO THIS GOAL. AS FOR THE CONTENT, THESE RESULTS DO NOT- AND COULD NOT-REPRESENT MORE THAN A STAGE ALONG THE ROAD TO DETENTE, THE REAL IMPORTANCE OF WHICH CAN BE EVALUATED ONLY BY REASON OF THE ACTUAL APPLICATION BY EACH OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES OF THE REAFFIRMED PRINCIPLES AND MEASURES AGREED UPON; THIS APPLICATION, NATURALLY, REMAINS ENTRUSTED TO THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND GOOD FAITH OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE TOO MUCH TO STATE THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE CONSTITUTE IN THEMSELVES A DECISIVE TURNING POINT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

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6. THE CONFERENCE INDICATED THOSE BASES ON WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE TO PURSUE THE DETENTE PROCESS AND TO BROADEN COOPERATION BETWEEN ALL PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES. ITS WORK HAS CLEARLY SHOWN WHERE SOLUTIONS CAN BE FOUND TOGETHER AND WHERE THEY ARE PREMAUTRE BECUASE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF EAST- WEST RELATIONS; IT DEMONSTRATED THE POSSIBILITIES OF A DETENTE
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AND COOPERATION POLICY BUT ALSO THE LIMITS SUCH A POLICY COMES UP AGAINST. IN FACT, CERTAIN POSITIONS ARE AT PRESENT IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONCILE BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIO/ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, AND EFFORTS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE ALSO IN THE FUTURE ON THE VERY BASIS OF THE CSCE'S RESULTS AND FOLLOWING THE GOALS SET BY THE CONFERENCE, TO GRADUALLY OVERCOME THE EXISTING OBSTACLES. MOREOVER, AND THIS CAN BE CONSIDERED AS A POSITIVE ASPECT, IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO LAY DOWN THE FOUNDATIONS OF A COMMON INTERPRETATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES TO IDENTIFY A CERTAIN NUMBER OF GOALS WHICH MUST BE PURSUED IF PROGRESS IS TO BE

MADE ON THE ROAD TO DETENTE AND TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR ADOPTING AND APPLYING CONCRETE MEASURES FOR ATTAINING THESE GOALS.

7. THE GOAL OF THE NINE WAS TO REAFFIRM IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT PRINCIPLES UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR APPLYING THEM TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, EQUALLY AND WITHOUT RESERVATION, INDEPENDENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

AT THE SAME TIME, EVERYTHING WHICH COULD INVOLVE A SPECIFIC CODE OF CONDUCT FOR EUROPE WAS TO BE AVOIDED, AND PARTICULARLY ANY DEVIATION FROM EXISTING PRINCIPLES ACCEPTED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS. AS THEY WERE ELABORATED, THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CSCE DO NOT DEVIATE FROM OTHER UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES, AND THEIR SUBORDINATION TO THE GOALS AND PRINCIPLES STATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER IS CLEARLY EXPRESSED.

8. IT WAS ALSO PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO GUARANTEE THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A CONSECRATION OF THE POLITICAL & TERRITORIAL "STATUS QUO" IN EUROPE, OR AS A MODIFICATION OF THE POSITION OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES CONCERNING THE LEGAL STATUS OF FRONTIERS.

THE DEFINITION OF THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, SUCH AS IT WAS FORMULATED, POINTS OUT THAT THIS PRINCIPLE IS A COROLLARY OF NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE, THAT IS TO SAY THAT BY INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS WE MEAN A PROHIBITION AGAINST VIOLATING OR CHANGING

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FRONTIERS BY FORCE. THE TEXT CONCERNING THE PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS, INSERTED IN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY, CONSTITUTES A FURTHER CONFIRMATION THAT THE DECLARATION IN NO WAY INVOLVES THE IMMUTABILITY OF FRONTIERS.

9. MOREOVER, IT MUST BE NOTED THAT THE DECLARATION STATES AND DEVELOPS, IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER AND CLOSE TO OUR CONCEPTS, PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO US; FOR EXAMPLE, THAT OF THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES; THAT OF COOPERATION, WHERE THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS DULY RECALLED; THAT OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH RECOGNIZES

AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE IMPORTANCE OF RESPECT FOR THESE RIGHTS AND FOR BASIC FREEDOMS AS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR IN REINFORCING PEACE AND DEVELOPING DETENTE.

DEFINITION OF THE GOALS AND CONCRETE MEASURES

10. INCLUSION IN THE TEXT OF THE CONFERENCE OF COMMITMENTS FOR ADOPTING CONCRETE MEASURES, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO MATTERS OF HUMAN INTEREST AND TO A FEW ASPECTS OF SECURITY, INCLUDING MILITARY ASPECTS, WAS MADE ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF THE VERY GREAT DIFFERENCE

BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN CONCEPTS IN THESE MATTERS. THE RESULTS OBTAINED IN THIS FIELD THEREFORE, REPRESENT THE FRUIT OF LONG, DRAWN OUT NEGOTIATIONS AND DIFFICULT COMPROMISES, AS A WHOLE, THEY MAY BE CONSIDERED AS BALANCE AND SATISFACTORY, EVEN IF THEIR PRECISION AND THE LEVEL OF THE COMMITMENT THEY ENTAIL ARE, IN CERTAIN CASES, NOT UP TO OUR EXPECTATIONS.

11. IN ANY CASE, ONE SHOULD POINT OUT AS A POSITIVE ELEMENT THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES SUCCEEDED IN HAVING CERTAIN BASIC WESTERN VALUES RECOGNIZED WHICH ARE ESSENTIALLY CLOSE TO THEIR CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM, OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE NEED TO LOWER THE BARRIERS OBSTRUCTING THE FREER MOVEMENT OF PERSONS, INFORMATION AND IDEAS: THEY WERE ABLE TO MAKE OUT OF THESE CONCEPTS A LEGITIMATE THEME FOR DISCUSSION WITHOUT THIS BEING CONSIDERED AS INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS TO PROPOSE THEM AS GOALS AND GUIDELINES, AND HAVE THEM ACCEPTED AS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR IN PURSUING THE DETENTE PROCESS.

12. IN REGARD TO CONCRETE MEASURES WHICH SHOULD BE APPLIED AFTER THE CONFERENCE, THE FOLLOWING SHOULD BE RECALLED:
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A. THE TEXT OF THE CBMS EMPHASISES THE COMPLEMENTARY NATURE OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY; IT CONTAINS ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AND FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF LARGE SCALE MILITARY MANEUVERS WHICH, IN SPITE OF THEIR VOLUNTARY CHARACTER, INVOLVE THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COUNTRIES AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE IGNORED WITHOUT IMPAIRING THE SPIRIT OF A DETENTE WHICH IS ALSO BASED ON ELIMINATION OF THE CAUSE OF MISTRUST. THEIR EFFECT, THE IMPORTANCE OF WHICH MUST NOT BE EXAGGERATED, CANNOT BE JUDGED AT ALL EVENTS UNTIL AFTER A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF TIME HAS PASSED. THERE IS REASON TO MAKE SURE THAT THE PRESENTATION AND EXPLOITATION OF THESE MEASURES DO NOT CREATE A FEELING OF FALSE SECURITY IN PUBLIC OPINION.

B. THE TEXTS DRAWN UP FOR ECONOMIC MATTERS AIM AT ESTABLISHING GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO TRADE; (IN THIS FRAMEWORK, RECOGNITION OF THE NOTION OF ACTUAL RECIPROCITY CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE PROGRESS TOWARD FUTURE RELATIONS). (COMMENT: TEXT BRACKETED BECAUSE RECIPROCITY TEXT NOT YET AGREED AT GENEVA). THEY ALSO PROVIDE MEASURES FOR IMPROVING ECONOMIC INFORMATION AND BUSINESS CONTACTS, THUS FACILITATING THE PROMOTION OF TRADE. MOREOVER, THEY DEFINE, AS PRECISELY AS POSSIBLE, THE NATURE AND FORMS OF POSSIBLE THEMES FOR COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS, ESPECIALLY COOPERATION IN INDUSTRIAL, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS. OTHER TEXTS TREAT PROBLEMS RELATING TO TRANSPORTATION, MIGRANT LABOR, TOURISM, ETC..

THE ROLE OF ENTERPRISES AND OF INDIVIDUALS, SHOULD THIS BE THE CASE, IS RECOGNIZED THEREIN. THE ENSEMBLE OF THE TEXTS CAN BE

CONSIDERED AS A POSTTIVE CONTRIBUTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
COOPERATION.

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C. THE TEXTS CONCERNING CONTACTS BETWEEN PERSONS, INFORMATION,
CULTURE AND EDUCATION ARE INTENDED TO PROMOTE IMPROVEMENT IN THE AD-
MINISTRATIVE PRACTICES OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES IN REGARD TO
CERTAIN IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
CONDITIONS WOULD THUS BE FULFILLED FOR SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE
QUALITY OF RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, A QUALIGY
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CONSIDERED BY THE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES AS THE NECESSARY POINT

OF REFERENCE OF THE CSCE AND OF THE OVER ALL DETENTE PROCESS. THE COMMITMENTS IN QUESTION SHOULD CREATE, IN PARTICULAR, BROADER POSSIBILITIES FOR THE DISPLACEMENT OF PERSONS ACROSS BORDERS FOR REUNION WITH FAMILIES, MARRIAGES, OR FOR OTHER REASONS OF A PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL NATURE. THEY SHOULD ALSO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN NEWSPAPERMEN IN EACH PARTICIPATING COUNTRY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THESE SAME COMMITMENTS SHOULD BE TRANSLATED INTO A MORE EXTENSIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION, EITHER THROUGH BETTER USE OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS OR THROUGH ANY OTHER POSSIBLE FORMS OF COOPERATION, PARTICULARLY AT THE PERSONAL LEVEL.

D. THE SCOPE OF THESE TEXTS DEPENDS, OF COURSE, ON THE WAY THEY WILL BE APPLIED BY ALL OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES. THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, ON THE BASIS OF THE MEASURES AGREED UPON, CAN OCCUR ONLY IF THE GOVERNMENTS SHOW A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND GOOD FAITH IN IMPLEMENTING THESE MEASURES.

13. FURTHER IN REGARD TO CONCRETE MEASURES, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE CSCE WAS UNABLE TO DEVELOP AN ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION SYSTEM FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, AS PROPOSED BY THE SWISS GOVERNMENT, SUPPORTED BY OTHER COUNTRIES. AS A DECISION ON THIS SUBJECT APPEARED TO BE PREMATURE, IT WAS AGREED TO DEFER IT FOR LATER NEGOTIATION.

FOLLOW-ON TO THE CSCE

14. FOR THE FUTURE, THE FOLLOW-ON OF THE CONFERENCE CONSISTED MAINLY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESULTS BY ALL THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, WHETHER THE RESULTS REQUIRED UNILATERAL APPLICATION OF NEEDED FURTHER COOPERATION ON THE BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL LEVEL FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION.

SINCE THE CSCE WAS TO BE CONCEIVED AS A STAGE IN THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS, IT SEEMED LOGICAL TO GIVE THE INTER-EUROPEAN DIALOGUE

A CHARACTER OF CONTINUITY WITHOUT, HOWEVER, PROCEEDING TO CREATE CONFIDENTIAL

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NEW INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THE PRESENCE OF WHICH COULD LEAD TO INTERFERENCE IN THE PROCESS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE OR TO THE BIRTH OF A PAN-EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY TO THE PREJUDICE OF THE EXISTING WESTERN STRUCTURES AND THE UNIVERSAL ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

15. THE ENVISAGED MEETINGS OF EXPERTS AND OF HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS- AS WELL AS THE EVENTUAL CONVOCATION OF A NEW CONFERENCE- REPRESENT MANY STAGED ELEMENTS OF A CONTINUITY, THE CONTROL OF WHICH BY EACH COUNTRY IS ENSURED BY THE RULE OF CONSENSUS AND BY THE PRINCIPLE OF

EQUALITY AMONG ALL PARTICIPANTS. IT WILL THUS BE POSSIBLE FOR THE 35 COUNTRIES TO PROCEED TOGETHER IN 1977- FIRST WITH THE EVALUATION OF THE CSCE'S RESULTS, THE STATUS OF THEIR APPLICATION AND , MORE GENERALLY, THE STATUS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND THEN TO THE STUDY OF OTHER INITIATIVES TO BE TAKEN WITH A VIEW TO CONTINUING THE PROCESS.

THE MEDITERRANEAN

16. AMONG THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE, THERE IS THE DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE INITIATIVE FOR WHICH IS DUE TO THE NINE, WHO ARE CONVINCED THAT A RAPPROCHEMENT AND A FRUITFUL DIALOGUE WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING THE SITUATION IN EUROPE AND TO STABILITY IN THE WORLD, AND WHO WANT TO RESPOND TO THE INTEREST SHOWN SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE BY CERTAIN NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES. ACCORDING TO THIS TEXT, THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THAT SECURITY IN EUROPE IS CLOSELY TIED TO SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA, AND DECLARE THEIR INTENTION OF CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE, SECURITY AND JUSTICE IN THIS AREA, OF CONDUCTING THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CSCE'S PRINCIPLES AND OF ENCOURAGING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION WITH THE COUNTRIES IN THE VARIOUS FIELD OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.

THE COOPERATION OF THE NINE

17. ONE HIGHLY POSITIVE ASPECT OF THE CSCE EXPERIENCE WHICH SHOULD BE POINTED OUT, IS THAT OF THE POLITICAL COOPERATION OF THE NINE. EVER SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE PREPARATORY WORK, THE NINE
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DREW THEIR INSPIRATION FROM THE DESIRE TO CONTRIBUTE, IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY, TO A REAL IMPROVEMENT OF CONTACTS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN COUNTRIES, ECONOMIES, CULTURES AND HUMAN BEINGS AND HAVING UNDERTAKEN TO ACHIEVE, AMONG THEMSELVES, EUROPEAN UNION-OF DEMONSTRATING AT THE SAME TIME THEIR WILL TO FOSTER A POLICY OF DETENTE, PEACE AND COOPERATION WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT THE NINE TOOK PART IN ALL THE NEGOTIATIONS.

18. WE HAVE FOUND WITH SATISFACTION THAT NOT ONLY DO THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE FULLY SAFEGUARD THE SPECIFIC INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE PROCESS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE BUT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES FURNISHED VERY POSITIVE PROOF OF THE NINE'S COHESION. IT SHOULD ALSO BE POINTED OUT THAT THE CONFERENCE PERMITTED THE COMMUNITY'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION AS SUCH IN THE FIELDS OF ITS COMPETENCE.

19. THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, OUR SPIRITUAL

HERITAGE

AND OUR COMMON POLITICAL PARTRIMONY HAVE PLAYED THEIR PART, GIVING THE

NINE CONSIDERABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE WEIGHT WHICH ALLOWED THEM TO BRING
A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN THESES AND WHICH
WAS RECOGNIZED BY ALL THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES.

IT IS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO US THAT THIS COHESION, WHICH WAS
MANIFEST DURING THE CONFERENCE, SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED IN
THE FUTURE IN THE COMING STAGES OF THE FULFILLMENT OF THE CSCE'S
RESULTS, IN THE PURSUIT OF MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE AND, MORE GEN-
ERALLY, IN RELATIONS WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

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